Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2008 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/captivityamongon00mileuoft

HUS
M6432c

CAPTIVITY

among the

ONEIDAS

in 1690-91

of

FATHER PIERRE MILET

of the Society of Jesus

EDITED IN FRENCH BY J. M. SHEA

Translated with Notes by

MRS. EDWARD E. AYER

114849
6/11

CHICAGO
MDCCCXCVII

No. 24

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year eighteen hundred and ninety-seven.

SEVENTY-FIVE COPIES have been printed for MRS. EDWARD E. AYER, during May, 1897, by the Blakely Printing Company, Chicago.

CONTENTS.

	Page
Preface by J. M. Shea	vii
Letter of Father Milet	11
Notes	60
Bibliographies	67
Index	70

PREFACE.

FATHER MILET,[1] like his confrères, the fathers Jogues,[2] Bressani[3] and Poncet,[4] was taken captive by the Iroquois[5] and conducted to the villages of this celebrated nation.

His confrères, who were kept in captivity in the territory of the Agnieronons,[6] had received from the Dutch, then in possession of the Hudson River, only kindness and generous treatment, while Father Milet, less fortunate, had been taken at a time when England and France were struggling against each other in an obstinate war, a war which had cast a gloomy presage upon the hostilities between the colonies of the two powers. In this war, which was

carried on for the sake of religion as well as for policy, the missionary captive became an object of suspicion to the English, and their efforts to end his captivity by extricating him from the hands of the Onneiôts had been thwarted by his friends.

The only account of his troublesome journeying to and fro that we had hitherto are a few letters published with the documents obtained in Europe by Mr. Brodhead[7] for the State of New York, and a deposition to attest the last will of a prisoner put to death at Onneiôt. The latter document was found about ten years ago in the Land Office at Montréal, but has since disappeared.

The Hon. Henry C. Murphy,[8] Minister of the United States to The Hague,

in the course of his researches and historical studies discovered a long letter from Father Milet, written at Onnei8t, July, 1691, which possesses uncommon interest for the history of the New York Colony.

Mr. Murphy's generous friendship aided me in my historical studies twenty years ago, and permits me to-day to add this letter to my collection of Memoirs and Documents of the French Colonies in America.

JEAN-MARIE SHEA.*

*Dr. Shea's signature appears here in the French form. The more usual form of his name is John (Dawson) Gilmary Shea.

Letter of Father Pierre Milet

to some

Missionaries in Canada.

Onnei8t, the day of the Octave
of St. Peter and St. Paul,[9] 1691.

REVEREND FATHERS:

I am sure that you will be most happy to learn of the manner in which the Iroquois and, above all, the Onnei8ts have preserved my life from the time I was captured at Fort Frontenac until the present; you will derive some consolation from it, I feel certain, and it will urge good people to give thanks to God.

I will tell you briefly how I was captured with the surgeon St. Amand, whom I had taken with me at the solicitation of the Onnondagués,[10] who, the better to deceive us, asked him to bleed some of their warriors. They told us that their people had gone to Montréal to make propositions of peace. The surgeon was seized at the hut given up to the sick people, where he was to attend to them, while I was taken at the wigwam of the chiefs and the elders, who were assembled there to discuss certain matters about which, as they said, they desired to consult me. They also pretended that they would have me pray for a dying person; but it was only to make me the more easily their prisoner. They asked me if the officers and sol-

diers intended to make a sally, to which I answered, No; but that I had been sent to find out what was desired of me and [the French]. "You shall pay then for all," they said; and thereupon two of the braves, who had been chosen to seize me, threw themselves upon me, grasped my arms and took away my breviary and everything else I carried upon me. They each reproached me for having been, as they declared, always opposed to the Iroquois; but Manchot,[11] chief of the Onneiûts, told me to fear nothing, for the Christians whom I had baptized among the Onneiûts would save my life. I was in need of this assurance, since I had learned that the English had already tried and burnt me in effigy. The same chief demanded of the warriors having

me in charge that they should not allow me to be stripped, but should conduct me, clad as I was, to their village. But no sooner had he departed to join three hundred Iroquois from all the Nations, who were leaving their ambushes to seek companions for me in misfortune, and to surprise the fort if they could, than they demanded my clothing, plundering me at the same time, one of my belt, another of my hat, a third of my cassock, and a fourth of my shirt. Finally the rest pulled off my shoes and stockings. They left me only my breeches; but even these were demanded by some, who said they had dreamed of them. Fortunately some of my conductors were opposed to these observers of bad dreams, and thus saved me from the hands of

those who wished to kill me at once, and who, irritated by the ill treatment that, as they declared, they had received from the French at my instigation, would have trampled me under their feet and thrown me into the water.

The expedition of the Iroquois to surprise Fort Frontenac was not successful, owing to their failure to capture a Frenchman who fled to the fort and gave warning that the savages were near in ambush. My captors loosened the ropes with which I had been tied to a young tree on the shore of the lake to await their return. I was put bareheaded into a canoe to be taken in company with three or four hundred Iroquois to an island two leagues below

Fort Frontenac, to meet there the bulk of the Iroquois army, numbering fourteen hundred men.

There I was received with great hooting by the Iroquois braves, who lined the shores in order to behold me bound and led as in triumph. Some rushed into the water to receive me upon the landing of the canoe; then they made me sing a song improvised by me on the spot, which they repeated and made me repeat several times for their amusement.

"*Ongienda Kehasakchoüa.*

I have been captured by my children.

Ongienda Kehasakchoüa.

I have been captured by my children."

To thank me for my song, one Honnontouan gave me a blow with his fist

under my eye, which left so plain a mark of his nails that no one would have doubted that it was a cut with a knife. I was led in this way to the wigwams of the Onnei8ts. No one there was permitted to insult me in any manner, or to force me to sing after the Iroquois fashion. Some Iroquois of importance sent for me that I should pray and chant the canticles of the Church, either alone or with the other French captives, who were sometimes brought in and chanted with me the *Veni Creator Spiritus*, etc. Toward evening we descended to within eight leagues of the fort, where we stayed for two days. It was there that a wife of an Honnontouan, whom I did not know, rendered great service by giving me an English

cap, since I was bareheaded and exposed to the rays of the sun, which had already affected me greatly. This woman made herself known to me later on while stopping here; she is the mother of Andotiennons, a Christian of the Mountain. May God recompense her charity extended to me with such good grace in my time of need!

From there the army proceeded to Otonniata, where a halt was made for three days and a council of war held. I came very near being immolated as a public victim. There were also three French captives with me; two of them, whom Mr. de Valrenne had sent with Onnonaragon to Montréal to carry the first news of the descent of the Iroquois, had fallen into the ambush laid for them

two leagues from the fort; the other was the surgeon who was taken prisoner with me. The Onnontagués, who had prepared the sacrificial pile at the instigation of the English, had [surrendered] us to the Four Nations, and they had no one to throw upon this pile for reviving the courage of the warriors. Finally the resolution was adopted to place us at the mercy of the Onnontannes, who should choose the one they considered most suited for their designs. Very likely such would have been my fate; partly because to have put me to death would have been the signal for a war without mercy, such as they seemed to desire, and partly because I was generally considered a great political criminal by the Iroquois and the English. One day at

noon a chief from Onneiȣt came for me and led me, bound as I was, to a council of all the Iroquois Nations assembled upon a hill near by. They placed me near the surgeon, whom I found treated as a prisoner of war like myself. The other two captives were not present, for those who had them in custody had gone on a hunting expedition and had taken their captives with them. I am of the opinion that this caused the disbanding of the party and saved me that time from the threatening danger. "We are not all assembled," said an old chief of Goiogoen,[12] and, after having looked at me for some time, he told me to pray to God. I desired to know if this meant that I was to die; he said, No, but I must pray to God accord-

ing to my custom. I then rose up and made my prayer in Iroquois, in order that all present might understand me. I did not forget to pray particularly for all my hearers. My prayer finished, they caused me to sit down again, loosened one of my arms, and shortly after led me to the camp of the Onnei8ts. Scarcely had I arrived there when several of the most influential people came to express their great joy at seeing me again. They had been alarmed about me and assured me that they had not taken part in the council held to consider the plan for giving me up to the Onnontagués; that only the chief who had me in charge had consented without consulting them, and that it should not happen again; and they would conduct

me to Onnei8t. In fact, the next morning two chiefs were selected with about thirty other savages to conduct me there, while the army pursued its march toward Montréal. I was very well treated in all the wigwams of the Onnei8ts during the journey. They themselves prepared my bed of rushes at night, and whenever they had any choice food, gave me my share of it among the first; yet they never forgot at night to put a rope around my neck, hands and feet and around my body, for fear, they said, lest God might inspire me to escape, and then they would not have the opportunity and glory of leading me to their village. I had, however, no thought of fleeing, and I much preferred to die at Onnei8t, should it be God's will, than at any other place in

the world, for it was my old mission. They did not put any burdens upon me during the journey; only, near the end of the march, one of the two chiefs who had me in charge gave me his bag to carry, but it was very light. At the last camping place, about ten leagues from Onnei8t, I met a christian squaw named Marie, who gave me, as a present from her father and mother, a large rosary strung on brass wire with a beautiful medallion of the Holy Family; she requested me to place it around my neck, which I did. Happy meeting! which filled my heart with consolation, and caused the young braves in charge of me to lose nearly all hope of being diverted in witnessing my death by burning upon our arrival; for it is their custom to

sacrifice the first captive taken after they have decided to go on the war path. All hope was completely lost, however, when we met, two leagues from the village, another christian squaw from one of the chief families of Onneiôt; she awaited me with her daughter, whom I had baptized on the very same day I baptized her and her husband. He was the second of the chiefs having me in charge, who, having left the throng of warriors in order to watch over me more carefully, had gone forward two days before to announce to his squaw my arrival. They both came to meet me, bringing various provisions peculiar to their country. This christian woman supplied me abundantly with them, and asked me to which of my companions I would

like to have her give some also. Finally she took the rope off my neck and untied my arms. She gave me a white shirt and a fine blanket which belonged to her daughter.

Could any one believe that among these savages there would be found such generous friendship and such gratitude for having received baptism as these converts showed?

It was the vigil of Saint Lawrence, and the whole morning I prepared myself as well as I could for all that might happen, even for undergoing the death by fire, if need be, in imitation of this great Saint; but I avow that upon seeing the charity and kind-heartedness of these poor savage Christians I could with difficulty restrain my tears. Upon re-

covering myself a little I questioned if all this might not be to adorn the victim, and if I should not be put to death upon my arrival! The good christian woman told me there was nothing determined upon as yet, but that the council at Onnei8t would decide my fate in time. A brave of the Otonniata had already lent me a small, tight coat, perfectly new, which, on that account, they did not want to take from me, and other Christians supplied me with some more clothing; thus I continued my route in the garb of two of the most important families of Onnei8t, that of the Bear and that of the Tortoise. News of my approach was sent at once to the sachems of the village, that they might meet me and also kindle watch-fires on this side of the

stockade. They came, but all of them were not so well disposed toward me as those of whom I have just spoken. An old savage, after having saluted me in his fashion, attempted three times to give me a blow in the face, which I parried instinctively, my arms being free; he finally desisted, and they seated me near the sachems. Chief Manchot, husband of the kind christian squaw who had undertaken to bring me to this place, addressed the assembly and told them that by order of the other chiefs, who were with the army, I had come not as a captive but as a missionary, who had returned to see his flock again; that it was their wish that I should be taken to the place of the council and put at the disposal of the Agorianders, or men in

charge of the public affairs of the tribe, but that I should not be given up either to the warriors or to the common people. Having finished his speech he handed me over to the assembly and sat down. Next, an old savage of the Bear clan, a great friend of the English, made a strong harangue to the effect that I was supporting the side of the Governor of Canada,[13] who had destroyed their Cabin[14] and burned the villages of Tsonnon8as.[15] He said so much that I was greatly in dread that the fire then burning had been prepared to consume me before I should enter the village, for such is sometimes their custom. At the end, however, the old savage grew less bitter and said that since it was desired by the chiefs that I should be taken to the cabin

where the council used to be held—a privileged cabin, by the by—I must be taken there. Finally I was given into the charge of a savage, a naturalized Iroquois, of the Nation called the Skannehok8ie from the country of the Wolves.[16]

I crossed this bad country with my protector, who had much trouble in saving me from the assaults of several intoxicated squaws who were always ready to insult me and stop me on the way. I was astonished to see the great number of savages presenting themselves on all sides, and with this crowd I was made to enter the council cabin, which, through the intrigues of the English and other enemies of the faith, was turned into a cabin of war. It was the hut of our kind christian squaw who received

me with hearty welcome; but it became necessary to hide myself soon after, for the savages, both men and women, being drunk, came from all quarters to assail us, saying a thousand insulting things to the kind people who were trying to protect me. Stones were thrown at the cabin, with threats of tearing it down and of setting fire to it, "since," said these drunken savages, "as we are on the war path, the first fruits must not be snatched from us."

The good Christian, the wife of Gouentagrandi, told me she had taken great pains to have the council of war held in her cabin instead of in any other place, so that she might the more easily save my life or that of the Governor of Canada, as well as that of any other noted

Frenchman who might have the misfortune to be taken prisoner. Truly, she has not only preserved my life but that of several other French prisoners, who happened to be placed either in her own cabin or in those of others, and one may declare that if any good has been or will be done in this mission it is, after God, to this squaw that thanks should be given. Two days after, when the fury of the drunken savages had spent itself, my friends wished me to have my trial before matters should come to a worse pass, which would surely happen if any of the Iroquois were killed at Montréal, where they were going to fight. I was taken to the place where the chiefs of the two tribes of the Bear and of the Tortoise were

assembled to decide my fate. They both concluded it would be wise to await the return of the warriors, and learn more particularly their intention and those of the Onnontagués before determining upon anything in regard to me. In the meantime, although they kept me a prisoner in the village, I was permitted to visit any of the cabins I wished. In this way I passed nearly three weeks, only suffering from the drunken savages who importuned and menaced me in divers ways. During my visits they generally called me *Genherontatie*, the Dead, or the Dying One, who walks.

Those who returned from Orange,[17] a little village belonging to the English, brought news not at all favorable to me. But if on the one hand I had these

little trials to endure, on the other hand our good Susanne and the other Christians following her example were a great source of consolation to me, for without speaking of the care they had for my temporal welfare, they brought me infants to baptize, or sent to me the sick or the afflicted to console. The grown people came to confess and render to me an account of the state of their consciences since I had been away from them. They came to me, begging me to pray for them, or to minister to their spiritual needs. They sought me out even in the little hut where I was hidden away for fear of the drunken savages. They prepared my mat of reeds on Sundays and feast days and carried it away to the adjoining fields that I

might pray to God apart and in repose. I felt much consoled when I found two crosses placed over the graves of two Christians who had died during my absence from the mission. I will only speak of one for the present. As a good Christian he made open profession of christianity, and sang in the chapel without regard to others during my former presence here as missionary. He did not forget in my absence the esteem for the faith with which God had inspired him, but continued always in his good practices. Having been badly hurt by falling from a high tree to the ground, thereby breaking his bones, he suffered greatly during the thirty days that he survived after his fall, but with the greatest patience, of which all the other Chris-

tians assured me. He often caused them to assemble and pray to God for him, particularly upon the approach of death. He gave orders that after his death a cross should be planted over his grave as a sign that he had wished to die a Christian; he also declared that he would recognize as his true relatives only Christians like himself. It was the custom of these poor, orphaned Christians to assemble and pray for one another, especially when sickness came or other diverse accidents happened to them. Even those who were not Christians imitated these good people, and getting up little feasts, invited them to be present and baptize their children, or receive through their prayers some relief in their sickness either bodily or

spiritual. Many of them testified to me how much my absence had grieved them, since they had no one who could console them or heal their consciences, and how they were often wounded in spirit in the midst of a perverse nation, or were in a strange confusion of mind, which the war between the enemies of the faith and the French had brought upon them.

But let us return to the decision in regard to my trial. The Iroquois returned without succeeding in their [designs]. It happened that three of the braves of this village had been killed; one of them, a chief of some importance, while intoxicated was killed in a cave. He would not surrender. This irritated the Iroquois braves very much, and not

content with the prisoners they had captured, they demanded that I also should be considered a prisoner like the rest. Our Christians feared that these Iroquois warriors, who loved carnage and thought it a great glory to kill men, would cut off my fingers or do me some other outrage to prepare me for death. My friends concealed me much more carefully than ever, making me sleep sometimes in one cabin, sometimes in another, and sometimes even in the fields, so that the warriors and the drunkards might not find me. My protectress especially joined prudence to her zeal in order to keep me out of danger. With this design she went to meet her relatives, who were among the most important chiefs, to inform them that as she

had preserved my life until the present, she would continue to do so with all the means in her power; also, that they could not treat me injuriously without herself feeling it deeply. She declared she would produce me only when the sachems should assemble in council to decide the fate of the prisoners they had not yet set at liberty. The chiefs replied that she had done well, and that she should continue to act in this way.

Finally the day came when our fate was to be decided. There were four of us who ran the risk of being put to death by fire, as an offset to the Iroquois who had been slain by the French; we were to be tried without appeal.

During the trial I had time to hear the confessions and give absolution to

my companions in misfortune, of whom two have been burned. Myself I could only recommend to Providence and the mercy of God. I was sent to different councils and from tribunal to tribunal, because some of our Iroquois considered me a great criminal and a great deceiver, who had caused the imprisonment of some of their people under the pretext of a feast of St. John. On the other hand I was aided by some of the most notable Christians among the tribes, and I could not be put to death without hurting their feelings. Several, however, believed I could not escape death; my rosary had already been taken from me, and as a victim of the demon of war and of the wrath of the Iroquois Nation, my face had been painted in red and

black. The family, which had been already informed of everything that had happened, re-assembled; even some of the squaws of great importance were admitted. As a proof of their friendship they gave me to the tribe in place of a sachem long since dead of a malady, rather than in place of one of those who had been killed in the attack of the French upon a place named La Chine,[18] above Montréal, or who had been taken prisoners at the Fort of Frontenac and transported to France, and whom they counted among the dead. This sachem was called Otasseté,[19] which is an ancient name among the first founders of the Iroquois Nation.

The one named Gannassatiron, who by this gift to the tribe became the sole

master of my life, used it very kindly. He consulted only the warriors of the family to which he belonged, asked only the advice of the two Christians who were especially protecting me, and never failed to agree fully as to my life, of which he gave me assurances by these words, "*Satonnheton szaksi:*" My elder brother, you are come to life again. He sent at the same time for two of the principal sachems of the village, to inform them about this circumstance. These sachems made fine speeches and gave thanks, while exhorting me to uphold the interests of their nation more than I had previously done.

Some days after, a feast was given to the notables of the village. [A friend of] Father Lamberville,[20] named Gara-

kontié, brother of the chief of the Nation of Onnontagués, and brother of the famous Garakontié, who was the first to bear this name, was invited to the ceremony, where I was given a new name, as an authentic mark that the Onnei8ts had adopted and naturalized me as an Iroquois. They also gave me back my rosary, and to crown this good fortune, Gannassatiron, fearing that I would suffer from hunger in his cabin, where there was but little wheat, had me taken to that of my protectress, who belonged to the same family. I had already lived there three weeks. All the important ceremonies had been held at this place, and there too I had been well protected. It is at this place we celebrate all the feasts, and they have

prepared me a mat and a little grotto, dedicated to Our Lord dying, Xto Morituro.

The English were not satisfied with the decision of the Onneiôts in my favor. They reproached my principal protectors, Tegahoiatiron and his wife, who had gone to them in treaty and had given them a note. This note an Iroquois, who wanted to purchase some garments from an Englishman, a friend of his, had made me write with charcoal, in the presence of my protectress and at her solicitation. The English, discontented that my life had been spared and wishing to profit by this occasion to destroy me, forthwith mounted their horses to spread at once the tale to all the Iroquois Nation that I had written the

most terrible things about them. The christian woman, knowing the reluctance with which I had consented to write the note, as I anticipated that the evil-disposed heretics would make a great account of it, asked to see this note, which she at once recognized. "Are these, then," she said, "the evil things written to you? I caused them to be written, and I know there are mentioned within this only such and such things. You must have a very evil-disposed mind to tell so many lies, and to make so much of a little note of which I know the contents, and, furthermore, to decry such a poor unfortunate." She silenced them for this time, and her husband added, "If you are at war with the French, very well, fight with

them, but do not make one belonging to us, who has nothing to do with the war, appear in the wrong."

This did not prevent the English from appealing from the decision of the Onnei-8ts to the Iroquois of Annié and Onnontagué. The cavaliers undertook long journeys on account of this subject as well as for their great design of war, but with no result. As to myself, they learned that all their intrigues and solicitations had come to naught, and my life once spared, was, according to custom, not to be taken. The English, having gained nothing by this journey, made other attempts to get me away from here. One day one of their deputies came to my little grotto, on behalf of the Commissioner of Orange, saying

that he regretted my captivity and had much compassion for me; he wished effectively to deliver me, and have me taken back to Quebec. He would give two savages for me, etc. I replied that I was under such obligations to the Onnei8ts that I could not leave them. The deputy interrupted these civilities and declared that the English would not suffer me here. I responded that this would concern my brothers, the Onnei8ts, and he should address them in this matter, to which he replied that he would do so. Immediately afterward the Onnei8ts called and requested me to be present at the harangue of this envoy of the English General. He went out after me and we entered the place of the assembly, he by one gate and I by

another. Here he was to speak in the lodge of my brother, Gannassatiron. He said, first, that three English governors held their councils of war at Orange, but the Governor of New York invited this Nation specially to make a new alliance with them. The deputies of all the Iroquois Nations went to Orange, where he congratulated them greatly on the success they had had a short time before at a place named La Chine. By loading them with many presents, he incited them anew to make war. He added, he would give up to them Fort Frontenac, of which they might easily become the masters, since the garrison there was starving. But the Iroquois army arrived there only after the French had abandoned the

fort, which was done in order that the Iroquois army might not boast of having driven them off. A large quantity of provisions was found there, which showed that hunger had not caused them to abandon the post; but the difficulty of revictualling it in case of need had induced the Governor of Canada to recall the soldiers. Moreover, the English had planned to have three armies; the first should go by the river of the Iroquois, the second by the lake Saint Sacrement,[21] and the third by sea, to lay siege to Quebec, where the three armies should reunite. But this fine plan did not succeed as well as it had promised. The two armies on land were broken up by a special providence of God. Smallpox stopped completely the first, and also

scattered the second, of which four hundred English were obliged to retrace their march by order of the Iroquois, who were at that time more the masters of the English than the English of the Iroquois. There remained only a small part of this second army which attacked the French at the Prairie de la Magdeleine. The Governor of New York had caused the imprisonment of three or four of the principal English captains, who had returned with their troops without having executed their orders, which had been to conquer New France or to lay it waste. We learned from Quebec the bad result of their third army, and they did well to write me of some other things as well, for without this information the English would have made the

Iroquois believe in their success, their victories and their prowess. May God be praised for preserving to us Canada! May the danger averted make the people of this country to be on the alert for the future!

Bella premunt hostilia
Da robur, fer auxilium
O Deus misericors.[22]

Le Poisson,[23] such is the name of the Governor of Manath[24] or New York, strongly advised the Iroquois not to listen to me, and above all to be on their guard concerning my own letters. His defense must be very weak if my pen has power to upset it. But it would require the spirit of God to mingle with it, and I believe it will be the sins of the English, rebels to their Lord and to their

faith, more than my writings which will overthrow them. We see and hear at this place so many strange things, badly planned, which come from the English, that in comparison the Iroquois seem to be much more reasonable than the English.

The Onneiôts having adopted me for one named Otasseté, who, when living, had been one of the council and had always been considered one of the supporters of the Nation, compelled me sometimes to be present at their councils, for no other reason than to learn what was going on or to report on some things of consequence to the country.

The English and those who uphold their interests dislike to see me there,

and wish to exclude and to deprive me of my voice, either active or passive. The true Onnei8ts, on the contrary, and those who still support the interests of the faith of their country, authorize me as much as they are able, and as the honor of God and of the Church are often found commingled in this sort of affairs, I am obliged to speak occasionally regarding the service of God; for the savages, depending on the English on account of their trade with them, dare not say anything to offend them. I also know that our good Susanne Gouentagrandi speaks to them boldly, and she sustains very well her rank of Agoiander for the faith and for the country of the Onnei8ts. Sannasatiron, my brother, also spoke to the English

rather daringly on one occasion for their importuning me continually, and for making so many attempts to get possession of me either through the sachems of the tribe or through him. At length the English, being always sent back to Sannasatiron, asked him why he alone was the master of my life, and not the sachems. "It is," he replied, "because I have taken him for my brother; I have captured him in battle and by this act he is as much mine as the things you have in your houses are yours. But to tell you the truth, I am no longer his master. He has become my eldest brother, and I have made the Christians the master of him, from whom you will have difficulty in gaining anything, therefore, I advise you to desist." But never-

theless as they continued their persecutions, he said to the Commissioner K8iter,[25] that he had lost entirely the hope of delivering me and he should speak of it no more. The commissioner called me to one side the next morning and communicated to me through an interpreter that up to the present time he had done all in his power to withdraw me from captivity, but that I had not seconded him, and had taken no account of all his endeavors and of the obliging offers made to me by the Minister at Orange.[26] I replied that I was obliged to him and to the minister for their offers, and would have been much more so had their offers and compliments been followed by any good effects; but they had been words breathed into the air,

which did not sustain but contradicted themselves. I had seen nothing substantial, not even a single word upon which I might rely, or by means of which they gave me any sort of satisfaction for all that they had made me lose unjustly at Onnontagué; this place being a sort of a privileged and consecrated place to negotiate peace, especially in questions that concern the Iroquois Nation. I could never resolve to leave the Onnei8ts, to whom I was under so many obligations; I could never repay them, except by sacrificing myself in imitation of Jesus Christ for their welfare, temporal and eternal. Thereupon we separated, and since that time the English have left me in peace, although I know that I am a great thorn

in their foot. If I could serve them according to God, for their conversion and for the public peace, I would do it with all my heart, and would forget all the wrong they have done me.

From all the foregoing your Reverences can judge how much I need the aid of Heaven, and the prayers of good people. In order to induce you not to spare them, I shall say a word more of the zeal of my good protectress.

The Iroquois of Agnié, who, on account of their neighborhood to the English, are much attached to them, have endeavored to carry me off under pretense of having me go on Christmas to hear the confessions of some Christians among them; but our good Gouentagrandi, not ignorant of their designs,

replied to the envoys that those who were so anxious to pray to God and to confess on Christmas could come of themselves to Onnei8t, and that she saw enough of the artifices of the English into whose power they wished to deliver me.

Besides the wampum which this good woman often has given me to speak in the councils, she gave many feasts to assemble the people, and to celebrate with greater honor the festivals of Christmas, of the Kings,[27] of the Resurrection,[28] and so on. For at these feasts we have raised the banners of the holy peace, in case they do not wish to hear of the holy war, hoping that Heaven will be for us; hoping, too, that those who are so obstinate as not to listen to the voice of God, who

does not love the shedding of human blood and does not wish war at all unless it is a holy war, shall sooner or later be punished, and that those, on the contrary, who favor us shall be rewarded. Yet we place all our little designs in the hands of God, and at the foot of the cross, seek only the glory of His Holy Name and the salvation and the repose of the people. I again recommend them to the Holy Sacrifice and prayers of your Reverences to whom I am sincerely and respectfully,

My Reverend Fathers,
Your very humble and obedient
Servant in Our Lord,

PIERRE MILET,
of the Society of Jesus.

I should have many more things to write, but time does not permit it; with God's wish it shall be at some other time.

NOTES.

The collation of the original is as follows:

Relation ‖ de sa Captivité parmi ‖ les Onneiouts ‖ en 1690-1.‖ *Par le R. P.* Pierre Milet *de la* ‖ *Compagnie de Jésus.*‖ (Printer's device: Two storks, with monogram, initials S. C.) Nouvelle-York: ‖ *Preffe Cramoify de* Jean-Marie Shea.‖ M.DCCC.LXIV.

Title, verso blank, one leaf; Avant-propos, pp. [iii]-v, vi. blank; text should begin with p. 7 but starts with p. [9]-56; signature 3 preliminary leaves and B-G in fours. 20.5 x 14 cm.

Figures following number of note refer to pages and lines of the text.

1. Page vii, line 1. Millet (also written Millett, or Milet), Pierre. Born at Bourges, November 18, 1635; died in Canada, December 31, 1708.

"Rev. Pierre Milet arrived in Canada in 1667, and was sent the following year to Onondaga, where he received the Indian name of Teharonhiagannra, or The Looker-up to Heaven. He was removed to Oneida in 1671, and labored there until 12 July, 1684, when he left and joined De la Barre on Lake St. Francis on 1st of August. At the request of the Marquis de Denon-

ville he was appointed Chaplain to Fort Frontenac in 1685, where he acted as interpreter in 1687; and in 1688 succeeded De Lamberville as Chaplain of the fort at Niagara. He returned to Fort Frontenac in 1689, and being lured outside the palisades to attend a dying Indian, was taken prisoner by the Oneidas, and his life saved only by having been adopted by one of the squaws. During his captivity, the English made many efforts, though in vain, to get him in their power, for which purpose Governor Fletcher sent Dirk Wessels to Oneida. Father Milet continued in captivity until the fall of 1694, when he returned to Quebec. He asked again to return as Missionary to those Indians, but the aspect of the times did not admit it. Charlevoix, who was in Canada from 1705 to 1722, 'lived several years with' Millet and speaks of him in terms of high esteem. (**O'Callaghan, E. B.,** *ed. Documents relating to the Colonial history of the State of New York.* Albany, 1855. Vol. IX, p. 665.)

For a bibliography of his writings, *see* **Sommervogel, C.** *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus.* 1894. Vol. V, p. 1099.

2. p. vii, l. 2. Jogues, Isaac. Born at Orleans in France, January 10, 1607; killed at Caughnawaga, New York, October 18, 1646.

For the journal of his captivity, *see* **The Jogues Papers,** translated, with a memoir, by J. G. Shea. (**New York Historical Society.** *Collections.* Series ii,

vol. iii, pt. 1, 1857, pp. 161–229.) *See also*, **Martin, F.,** *Life of Father Jogues.* Translated by J. G. Shea. 1885.

For a bibliography of his works, *see* **Sommervogel, C.** *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus.* 1893. Vol. iv, p. 808.

3. p. vii, l. 2. Bressani, François Joseph. Born at Rome, 1612; arrived in Canada, 1642. Died at Florence, September 9, 1672.

For a bibliography of his works, *see* **Sommervogel, C.** *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus.* 1891. Vol. ii, p. 133.

4. p. vii, l. 3. Poncet, Antoine Joseph. Born at Paris, May 7, 1610; came to Canada, 1639. Baptized his first savage Christian at Montreal, 1642. Died at Martinique, June, 1675.

5. p. vii, l. 4. Iroquois, or Five Nations, a former confederation of American Indians originally composed of five tribes, viz.: Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas. At a later time a sixth tribe, the Tuscaroras, was added.

See **The Nine Iroquois Tribes,** 1666. (*Documentary history of the State of New York.* By E. B. O'Callaghan. Vol. i, 1850, pp. 11–26.)

6. p. vii, l. 7. Mohawks. The Hurons called them Agnieronans or Agniehronnons; the French named them Agniés or Agniers.

7. p. viii, l. 12. Brodhead, John Romeyn. 1814–1873. An American historian. He wrote "History of the State of New York," 1609–1691. New York, 1859–71. 2 vols.

   For an estimate of his works, *see* **Winsor, J.** *Narr. and crit. hist. of America.* Vols. iii, iv, v, viii. (Consult index in each volume.)

   For a biographical sketch, *see* **Scribner's Monthly.** Vol. xiii, 1876–77, pp. 459–63.

8. p. viii, l. 18. For a biographical sketch of Henry C. Murphy, *see* **Appleton's** cyclopædia of American biography. 1888. Vol. 4, pp. 465–66.

   For criticisms and history of his literary works, *see* **Winsor, J.** *Narr. and crit. hist of America.* Vols. i, ii, iii, iv, and viii. (Consult index in each volume.)

9. p. 11, l. 5. July 6th.

10. p. 12, l. 4. The word Onnota signifies in the Iroquois tongue "a mountain," and has given the name to the village called Onnontae, Onnontagué, Onnondagué or Onondaga, because it is on a mountain.

11. p. 13, l. 13. Manchot signifies "One Arm."

12. p. 20, l. 15. Cayuga. The French name was Goiogoen or Goiogouen, corrupted from the true tribal name, "Gwé-u-gweh-o-nó"—"*People of the mucky land.*"

13. p. 28, l. 10. Frontenac, *Comte* Louis de Buade de; born 1621; died 1698. Governor of Canada, 1672–82 and 1689–98.

For his times and contests in Canada, *see* **Winsor, J.** *Narr. and crit. hist. of America.* Vol. iv. (Consult index.)

14. p. 28, l. 11. The Iroquois Confederacy, consisting of nine principal families or tribes, formed in their symbolical language a Cabin.

15. p. 28, l. 12. In early French Tsononthouans or Sonnontouans. Colden and Hennepin named them Senekas or Senecas. Cox called them Sonnontovans.

16. p. 29, l. 6. Loups (wolves) is a French translation of the Algic word Maikan or Mohegan, a wolf.

17. p. 32, l. 16. Orange is the original name of Albany.

18. p. 40, l. 10. Modern spelling "Lachine."

19. p. 40, l. 15. Morgan, L. H. League of the Iroquois. Rochester, 1851, p. 64, gives as the first Oneida sachem Ho-däs-hä-teh—"*A man bearing a burden.*"

20. p. 41, l. 19. Lamberville, Jean de. Born at Rouen, December 27, 1635; came to Canada, 1671; died at Paris, February 10, 1714. His Iroquois name was Thurensera [or Teïorhensere], signifying "*The dawning of the day.*" (**Colden, C.** *Five Nations*, 2d ed. Lond. [1750], p. 107.)

For a bibliography of his writings, *see* **Sommervogel, C.** *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus.* 1893. Vol. iv, p. 1414.

21. p. 48 l. 12. William Johnson changed the name of Lake Saint Sacrement to Lake George. (**O'Callaghan, E. B.,** *ed. Documents rel. to the Colonial hist. of the State of New York.* Vol. vi, p. 997.)

22. p. 50, l. 7. Our foes press on every side,
Thine aid supply, Thy strength bestow,
O God of pity.

23. p. 50, l. 10. It seems most probable that the Indians called the Governor of New York by a name of which "Le Poisson" (the Fish) is a French translation. This is not surprising, for even to this day the Indians call people at first introduction a name characteristic of what strikes them as peculiar. For the period of 1689–92 the governors of New York were as follows: J. Leisler (1689–91); H. Sloughter (19 March, 1691); R. Ingoldsby (26 July, 1691–92).

24. p. 50, l. 11. One of the original names of New York, viz.: Manhattan Manachatas, Manades, Manadoes. Manados, Manahactas, Manahata, Manahatans, Manahatas, Manahates, Manahatta, Manahattas, Manatans, Manate, Manates, Manath, Manathans, Manathe, Manathes, Manatte, Manetto, Manhat, Manhatan, Manhatans, Manhatas, Manhatens, Manhates, Manhathans, Manhatoes, Manhatoos, Manhatos, Manhattans, Manhatten, Manhattes, Manhattoes, Manhattons, Manhattos, Manhuttons, Menade, Menates, Monhatons, Munhaddons. (**O'Callaghan, E. B.,** *ed. Documents relating to the Colonial hist. of the State of New York.* General index, p. 395.)

25. p. 54, l. 3. Schuyler, Peter. Called by the Indians K8iter or Quider. (**O'Callaghan, E. B.,** *ed. Documents rel. to the Colonial hist. of the State of New York.* Vol. iv, p. 986.)

26. p. 54, l. 13. Rev. Godfrey Dellius (or Delliuse).

27. p. 57, l. 13. Epiphany, a feast kept on January 6, to commemorate the manifestation of Christ's glory.

28. p. 57, l. 13. Feast of Easter.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES.

Giving sources of information, 1. On the history of Canada, its leading characters and historical writers. 2. On the history of missions, institutions and orders of the Catholic Church in America. 3. On the history of the Indians of North America. 4. On the history of the Jesuits and the literature of their missions in America.

Ayer, Edward E. Americana. Chicago, [1896].

Brooks, E. S. The story of the American Indian. Boston, 1887.

The best hundred books on the American Indian, pp. 301 308.

Carayon, A. Missions d'Amérique. (*In his* Bibliographie historique de la Compagnie de Jésus. Paris, 1864, pp. 176–202.)

Charlevoix, P. F. X. de. History and general description of New France. Translated by J. G. Shea. New York, 1866.

Vol. I, pp. 67–96, critical list of authors consulted by the translator.

Faribault, G. B. Catalogue d'ouvrages sur l'histoire de l'Amérique et en particulier sur celle du Canada. Quebec, 1837.

Field T. W. Essay towards an Indian bibliography. New York, 1873.

Covers over 1,500 titles of books, many of them characterized in fitting notes. The book needs, however, a topical index.

Harrisse, H. Notes pour servir à l'histoire, à la bibliographie et à la cartographie de la Nouvelle France et des pays adjacents, 1545–1700. Paris, 1872.

The Jesuit Relations, and other mission records: a chronological bibliography. (Winsor, J. *Narrative and critical history of America.* Vol. iv, pp, 295–316.)

Marcel, C. Cartographie de la Nouvelle France. Paris, 1885.

O'Callaghan, E. B., *ed.* Calendar of historical MSS. in the office of the Secretary of State, Albany, New York. Pt. I, Dutch MSS., 1630–64. Pt. II, English MSS., 1664–1776. Albany, 1865–66. 2 vols.

Sommervogel, C. Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus. Bruxelles, 1890–96. 7 vols. A-Som. (Not yet completed.)

See names of Missionaries who have attended to the spiritual wants of the Indians in Canada, as Biard, Bressani, Jogues, Masse, Milet, etc.

Stewart, G., Jr. Sources of early Canadian history. (Royal Soc. of Canada. *Proceedings and transactions.* Sec. 2, 1885, p. 39. Montreal, 1886.)

Thwaites, R. G., *ed.* The Jesuit relations and allied documents. Cleveland, 1896—(*In progress.*)

This work will consist of about 60 vols., of about 300 pages each.

Winsor, J. Narrative and critical history of America. Boston, 1884–89. 8 vols. (Consult index in each volume.)

Critical essays on sources of information follow most of the chapters.

INDEX.

Agnié, Iroquois of, 56.
Agniehronnons, (*note* 6) 62.
Agnieronans, (*note* 6) 62.
Agnieronons, vii.
Agniers, (*note* 6) 62.
Agniés, (*note* 6) 62.
Agoiander, 52.
Agorianders, 27.
Andotiennons, 18.
Annié, Iroquois of, 45.
Bear family, 26, 28, 31.
Bibliographies, 67.
Bressani, François Joseph, vii; (*note* 3) 62.
Brodhead, John Romeyn, viii; (*note* 7) 63.
Cabin, The, 28.
Canada, Governor of, 28. 30, 48; (*note* 13) 63.
Cayuga, 62; (*note* 12) 63.
Christmas, Festival of, 57.
Collation of original work, 60.
Dellius, *Rev.* Godfrey, minister of Orange, 54; (*note* 26) 66.
Easter, (*note* 28) 66.
England and France, vii.
Epiphany, (*note* 27) 66.
Europe, viii.
Five Nations, (*note* 5) 62.
Four Nations, 19.
France, England and, vii.
Frontenac, *Comte* L. de Buade de, Governor of Canada, 28, 30, 48; (*note* 13) 63.
Frontenac, Fort, 11, 15, 16, 40, 47.
Gannassatiron, 40, 42, 47.
Garakontié, 41, 42.
Genherontatie, 32.
George, Lake (*formerly* Lake Saint Sacrement), 48; (*note* 21) 65.
Goiogoen, 20; (*note* 12) 63.

Goiogouen, (*note* 12) 63.
Gouentagrandi, Susanne, 30, 52.
Honnontouan, 16, 17.
Ingoldsby, R., (*note* 23) 65.
Iroquois River (Sorel?), 48.
Jogues, Isaac, vii; (*note* 2) 61.
Johnson, William, (*note* 21) 65.
Kings, Festival of, 57; (*note* 27) 66.
K8iter, Commissioner (Peter Schuyler), 54; (*note* 25) 66.
La Chine, 40, 47; (*note* 18) 64.
Lamberville, Jean de, 41; (*note* 20) 64.
Leisler, J., (*note* 23) 65.
Manath or New York, 50; (*note* 24) 65.
Manchot, chief of the Onnei8ts, 13, 27; (*note* 11) 63.
Marie, christian squaw, 23.
Milet, Pierre, (*note* 1) 60.
Mohawks, (*note* 6) 62.
Montréal, 12, 18, 22, 31, 40.
Montréal, Land Office of, viii.
Mountain, Christian of the, 18.
Murphy, Henry C., viii, ix; (*note* 8) 63.
New York, viii; (*note* 24) 65.
New York, Governor of, 47, 49, 50.
Onnonaragon, 18.
Onnondagué, (*note* 10) 63.
Onnontae, (*note* 10) 63.
Onnontannes, 19.
Onnota, (*note* 10) 63.
Onondaga, (*notes* 5, 10) 62, 63,
Orange (Albany), 32, 47; (*note* 17) 64.
Orange, Commissioner of (P. Schuyler), 45; (*note* 25) 66.
Orange, Minister of (Rev. G. Dellius), 54; (*note* 26) 66.
Otasseté, sachem, 40, 51.
Otonniata, 18, 26.
Poisson, Le (Governor of New York), 50; (*note* 23) 65.
Poncet, Antoine Joseph, vii; (*note* 4) 62.
Prairie de la Magdeleine, 49.
Quebec, 46, 48, 49.
Resurrection, Festival of, 57.
St. Amand, 12.
St. John, Feast of, 39.

Saint Lawrence, Vigil of, 25.
Saint Sacrement, Lake (*now* Lake George), 48; (*note* 21) 65.
Sannasatiron, 52, 53.
Satonnhéton szaksi, 41.
Schuyler, Peter (K8iter), commissioner of Orange, 54, (*note* 25) 66.
Senecas, 62.
Shea, John [Dawson] Gilmary, ix.
Skannehok8ie, 29.
Sloughter, H:, (*note* 23) 65.
Susanne (Gouentagrandi), 33, 52.
Tegaboiatiron, 43.
Tortoise family, 26, 31.
Tsonnon8as, 28.
Tuscaroras, 62.
Valrenne, *Mr.* de, 18.

HUS
M6432c

Author Milet, Pierre 114849

Title Captivity among the Oneidas ... tr. by Ayer

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
LIBRARY

Do not
remove
the card
from this
Pocket.

Acme Library Card Pocket
Under Pat. "Ref. Index File."
Made by LIBRARY BUREAU